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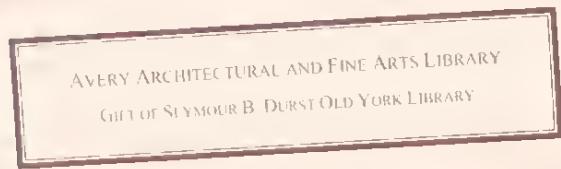
EAST HARLEM TRIANGLE PLAN

**PREPARED FOR THE
COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION OF
THE EAST HARLEM TRIANGLE
AND THE
NEW YORK CITY
HOUSING AND DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION**

AUGUST 1968

ARCHITECTS' RENEWAL COMMITTEE IN HARLEM

N4
Ar253
F



ARCH

October 9, 1968

Mr. Robert Hazen, Commissioner
Housing and Development Administration
2 Lafayette Street
New York, New York 10007

Dear Mr. Hazen:

In fullfillment of the contract with the City of New York and the community Association of the East Harlem Triangle, The Architects Renewal Committee in Harlem Inc., hearby presents the final report of the East Harlem Triangle Renewal Plan.

The following planning process and its organizational structures representin an urban renewal innovation. For the first time a community participated fully in the decision and planning process from its inception hiring its own consultants to translate their ideas into a renewal plan. In actuality, this is the community's report not the planners.

Our firm has enjoyed this challenging assignment and wishes to thank you and your staff for your assistance and support. We also wish to record our sense of debt to the citizens of the East Harlem Triangle.

Sincerely,
J. Max Bond

J. Max Bond, Jr.
Executive Director

ARCHITECTS'
RENEWAL
COMMITTEE
IN HARLEM

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report is dedicated to the members of the East Harlem Triangle Association, the Architects Renewal Committee in Harlem, and to the concept of full and participatory partnership between local community organizations and professional technical advisors, sensitive to the needs of the indigenous peoples. The report is also dedicated to exploding the myth that Afro-American and Spanish American people lack the necessary organizational and technical skills to plan their own destinies.

Staff members of the East Harlem Triangle Association include:

Alice Kornegay	President
Vernon (Ben) Robinson	Executive Director
Beulah Palmer	Director of Community Planning & Housing Services
Ruth Atkins	Director of Community Organization
Rober Schafer	Housing Development and Financial Consultant
Rev. Melvin Schoonover	Executive Director-Emeritus
Lillian Shipley	Board member, Housing Committee chairman

Our thanks also go to the East Harlem Triangle's model cities representatives, including:

Flossie Polk	Manuel Caraballo
Johnnie Mae Johnson	Robert Gaines
Elaine Austin	Rita Lacks
Miriam McKinney	Nellie Shipp

A major share of the credit for the accuracy of this report goes to the non-professional community organizers from the East Harlem Triangle neighborhood. Without their tireless dedication and service, this report would not have been possible.

Community organizers from the East Harlem neighborhood include:

Rosa Brown	Sixto Rosario
Keron Moon	Olga Rivera
Elaine Austin	Norris Hill
Helen Griffin	Lenora Thompson
Julia Turner	Blondell Brito
Beatrice Gaines	

We at ARCH believe strongly in the advocacy planning concept. We believe that neighborhood involvement coupled with technical sensitivity to community needs is essential to the planning process if it is to be at all relevant to Black and Spanish-speaking people.

For too long now, white people lacking both sympathy and sensitivity to critical issues confronting us, have been allowed to come into our communities to plan for us. The result of these attempts to ameliorate the conditions of our lives makes itself quite evident in any major American city. Such is the nature of racist white America.

This report represents an attempt by an indigenous group to make a concrete, meaningful statement that will (if implemented) significantly change the well being of the residents of the East Harlem Triangle.

Members of the ARCH staff include:

J. Max Bond	Executive Director
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Robert Catlin	City Planner
Leonard J. Clay	City Planner
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Technical consultants to the ARCH planning team were:

Roger Katan	Urban Designer
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Photographs of the East Harlem Triangle and the model were taken by Tyrone Georgiou and Joel Lauden.

Graphic design was by E. Donald Van Purnell, Joel Lauden and Tyrone Georgiou.

Text preparation was by Robert Catlin, Leonard Clay and Sheila Rush Jones.

Our thanks also goes to the members of the various city agencies (mentioned in the text), and in particular to the Housing and Development Administration.

Members of the Housing and Development Administration include:

Robert Hazen	Commissioner
Jason Nathan	Administrator
Samuel Ratensky	Assistant Administrator
David S. Olinger	Deputy Commissioner
Eli Post	Director of Planning and Technical Services
Barry Zelikson	Chief of Planning
Harry Denny	Project Coordinator

Mrs. Roberta Spohn and her staff



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A.

BACKGROUND

FOR

PLANNING



INTRODUCTION

The East Harlem Triangle is a triangular area of land located east of Central Harlem and north of East Harlem. The 85½-acre parcel is bounded by 125th St. on the South, the tracks of the N.Y. Central railroad along Park Avenue on the West, the Triborough Bridge on the North and the Harlem River Drive on the East.

The Triangle is ethnically more diverse than most Harlem neighborhoods. A 1960 ethnic breakdown of its then 6,000 residents was 60% black, 20% Puerto Rican and 20% white. More recent estimates indicate the population has declined to approximately 4,500 and that ethnic ratios have changed to 70% black, 20% Puerto Rican and 10% white.

The story of the Triangle Association since 1961 is first of all the story of a dogged fight of a deprived community for the right to survive.

In 1961 the Triangle area, consisting of dilapidated and deteriorating mixed residential and commercial uses, was designated for industrial and commercial renewal by the City Planning Commission and the Board of Estimate. The City Planning Commission justified the exclusion of residential uses from its designation on the grounds that the Triangle was one of the most blighted areas in Harlem, that it had nearly 50% of its population since 1920, and that there had been virtually no new residential or commercial construction since 1930.

In May 1961 the New York City Planning Commission announced its intention to study the so-called East Harlem Triangle (bounded by Park Avenue, 125th Street, and the Harlem River) as an area for high

performance light manufacturing. The area was described as "one of the most blighted and run-down areas in Harlem . . . wholly unsuitable for housing . . ." A neighboring church (Chambers Memorial Baptist) with parishioners in the Triangle called a public meeting to acquaint residents with the City's plan. From that meeting emerged what was originally known as the Committee for the Preservation of the East Harlem Triangle.

Determining that their only hope for survival lay in knowing more about the area than the City departments, the committee immediately began a self-study process which has continued to this time. Rejecting offers of politicians, social workers and clergymen to act as their "spokesmen", Triangle residents presented their own testimony at public hearings of the Planning Commission and Board of Estimate. Over and over they stated:

- 1) the City had underestimated the relocation problem both by underestimating the total population and by ignoring the fact that the Triangle represented a concentration of multi-problem families who were either actually or practically ineligible for the main relocation resource, public housing.
- 2) more was needed than improved relation practices—urban renewal ought to begin with addressing the varied needs of the people scheduled for displacement by so-called "civic improvements."
- 3) the population was surprisingly stable, which indicated that many people lived in the Triangle by choice (they did not think the area unsuitable for housing).
- 4) despite all the problems people confronted, there was a real community spirit based on mutual acceptance and many real supportive relationships.

Through months of negotiations, the following concessions were finally wrung from the city:

- 1) the urban renewal designation was amended to permit "housing on the periphery."

- 2) a code enforcement program to slow physical deterioration was instituted years ahead of normal practice.
- 3) agreement was given to do a new kind of study before any physical planning—one which would assess the things necessary to improve the quality of human life and propose ways of providing them.
- 4) the Community Association would have a key role in study, planning and execution phases of urban renewal.
- 5) a new school would be built in the Triangle, thereby strengthening the case for preservation of the residential community.

Through the years the determination to survive and to build a new community has grown and become solid.

It was obvious very early in the process that an "ad hoc" organization was insufficient. The Community Association of the East Harlem Triangle was therefore formed. An anonymous private grant enabled the organization to establish a permanent headquarters, hire professional staff, and develop a file of information on households and neighborhood conditions. They were joined by the sub-community office of MEND, the East Harlem anti-poverty agency, established in 1965.

This group is now incorporated, has Federal tax-exempt status and has its own headquarters building at 130 East 129th Street.

Survival has not been easy. Physical deterioration has been shocking; the population has diminished by at least one-third in six years largely through forced relocation because of condemnation of buildings, technical overcrowding, or the acquisition of land for public facilities. It has appeared that the City's original plan for the area would ultimately prevail, either by deliberate design or unplanned attrition. Those programs designed to protect the community (such as code enforcement) have been used more often than

not to reduce the population. There have been interminable delays in implementation of agreements with City agencies. For example, two years went by in fruitless negotiations between the City and a noted sociologist selected to do the social studies. There has been a succession of executive personnel in the City's housing and urban renewal agencies through these years. Once a good working relationship had been established with one agency director, he would be promoted or dropped from the administration. The frustrations and disappointments have been almost too great to bear at times. Yet the "hard core" leadership has hung on, spurred by their vision of what their community could be.

The Triangle has always demanded the right of full participation in determining the direction of any renewal type actions in the community. In 1964 the Triangle requested that a two-year "feasibility study," the only kind of study authorized by the Federal Government in renewal areas prior to renewal action, be undertaken in the Triangle in order to support their claim for mixed use renewal.

Representatives from the Community Association of the East Harlem Triangle (CAEHT) met with the Commissioners of the old Housing Redevelopment Board (HRB) in December 1965 to request the right to have the contract for the Feasibility Study. Much to our amazement, they agreed, possibly because they believed the results might be useful in handling other "problem neighborhoods" in the City.

During the month of January 1966 the new Lindsay administration came into office, and representatives from CAEHT took to them the signed agreement from the old HRB and demanded that it be honored by the new administration.

Jason Nathan, the City's new Urban Renewal Commissioner and Mrs. Flatow, then Housing Coordinator, replied that the City wanted a Feasibility Study undertaken, particularly on the question of job development, before any renewal took place. They proposed that the study result in a project plan which could be the basis for a renewal action while a small survey and planning application was being processed.

During the summer of 1966, the CAEHT and the MEND sub-community appointed nine community people to serve as a Triangle Planning Committee which would develop a plan to support the community position.

Over the summer, the planning committee met daily with a city planner from the Architects' Renewal Committee in Harlem (ARCH) in order to develop a plan for the renewal of the area. Maps were drawn to plot existing uses in the area and to serve as a departure point for new renewal and developmental ideas. Gradually the somewhat vague earlier program of "improving the area" gave way to intensive and systematic planning efforts.

By the end of the summer, the planning committee had formulated a renewal plan which would result in a mixed residential and industrial community of mixed rent levels. The community, in the course of developing its plan, met with the city on such problems as the industrial zoning for the entire area and the redesigning of the projected elementary school No. 30 in order to provide more space for residential uses.

Encouraged by the results of its own planning activities, the Board of Directors of the Community Association wrote a letter to the Mayor, the City's renewal commissioner, and the Housing Coordinator,

requesting that a survey and planning application be submitted immediately for the Triangle. The letter was hand carried to Eugenia Flatow of the Housing Coordinator's office on September 8, 1966 by Dave Spencer from the Board, Elaine Austin from the Planning Committee and the ARCH planner.

The community, as earlier stated, always expected control over all developmental schemes which might be proposed for the area. Therefore, area residents requested that the City should contract directly with them for the planning study. Current federal regulations presented this and, as an alternative, Jason Nathan agreed to contract with Triangle for community liaison and coordination of the entire study and to accept their recommendations for other contractors. After interviewing a number of prospective consultants Triangle selected ARCH to do the physical planning and the Social Dynamics Corporation (SDC) to conduct the sociological and economic studies.

On October 2, 1967 the urban renewal study finally began. Two professional groups recommended by the Community Association are under contract to do socio-economic and physical studies. The Association itself has a contract, certainly among the first between a governmental agency and a "grass roots" community group, to provide coordination of the entire study, administrative services, and liaison with City agencies, as well as "public relations" within the community. It is understood that all reports and recommendations will be cleared through the Community Association before being submitted to the City and Federal governments. An air of excitement and optimism is being generated as data accumulates and all

kinds of ideas for housing, social services, and economic development are discussed. It appears that the tide of deterioration and community disintegration may have turned. But it also appears that the most crucial days are ahead.

With ARCH's initiation of a physical survey of the area, a series of frequent meetings between the Community and ARCH began. As detailed data on building conditions and the socio-economic needs of the community began to emerge, the Community Association began to articulate to ARCH exactly what it was the concept plan should provide. In essence, the meetings had evolved into productive planning workshops.

The remainder of this report will be in two parts. In the first part we will present a physical and socio-economic profile of the Triangle. The other part will describe the concept plan in terms of goals, objectives and specifics. At best this effort must be seen as only a beginning. We must prepare to implement this plan which means development of new housing, new jobs, and new types of social services.

For a long time whites have been asking black folks, "what do you people want?" This report attempts to speak to that question.

LOCATIONAL AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Triangle area has one of the best locations of any combined residential, commercial and light manufacturing neighborhood in the New York City Metropolitan area. With service by the Third Avenue, Willis Avenue and Triborough Bridges, automobile access to all parts of the metropolitan area is readily at hand. The Lexington Avenue subway with its express stop at 125th Street provides quick, convenient service to midtown and downtown Manhattan, the Bronx, and Queens where potential employment opportunities are available for Triangle residents.

The Triangle contains a conflicting mixture of decaying residential, heavy commercial-industrial, and retail uses along with some community facilities the inadequacy of which will be touched upon later in this report. Streets and alleys take up over one third of the Triangle's land area as compared with 25% recommended by city planning theory. Residential uses account for only 11% while non-residential uses take up the remaining 40% of the land. The heavy commercial-industrial uses are concentrated in the area of Park, Lexington, 131st and 125th Streets, the western end of the area. Retail uses are centered on 125th Street with a shopping node being created at the intersection with Lexington Avenue where the presence of the express subway stop, a bus transfer point and uses relate to the railroad station at Park Avenue, combine to create a major activity area that may be termed the focal point of the Triangle. Recreation uses are to be found in the area of 128th Street and Second Avenue below Harlem River Drive and in the area of the Triborough Bridge. These areas couldn't have a worse location as the heavy, fast moving traffic coming on and off these bridges have resulted in the deaths of several children within the last year and instilled fear in parents of the children who use these facilities because none other are available. Virtually the entire area is zoned MI-2, a classification that permits the wide variety of conflicting uses that exist today in the Triangle. However, the renewal process allows for zone changes to reflect proposed planning concepts.

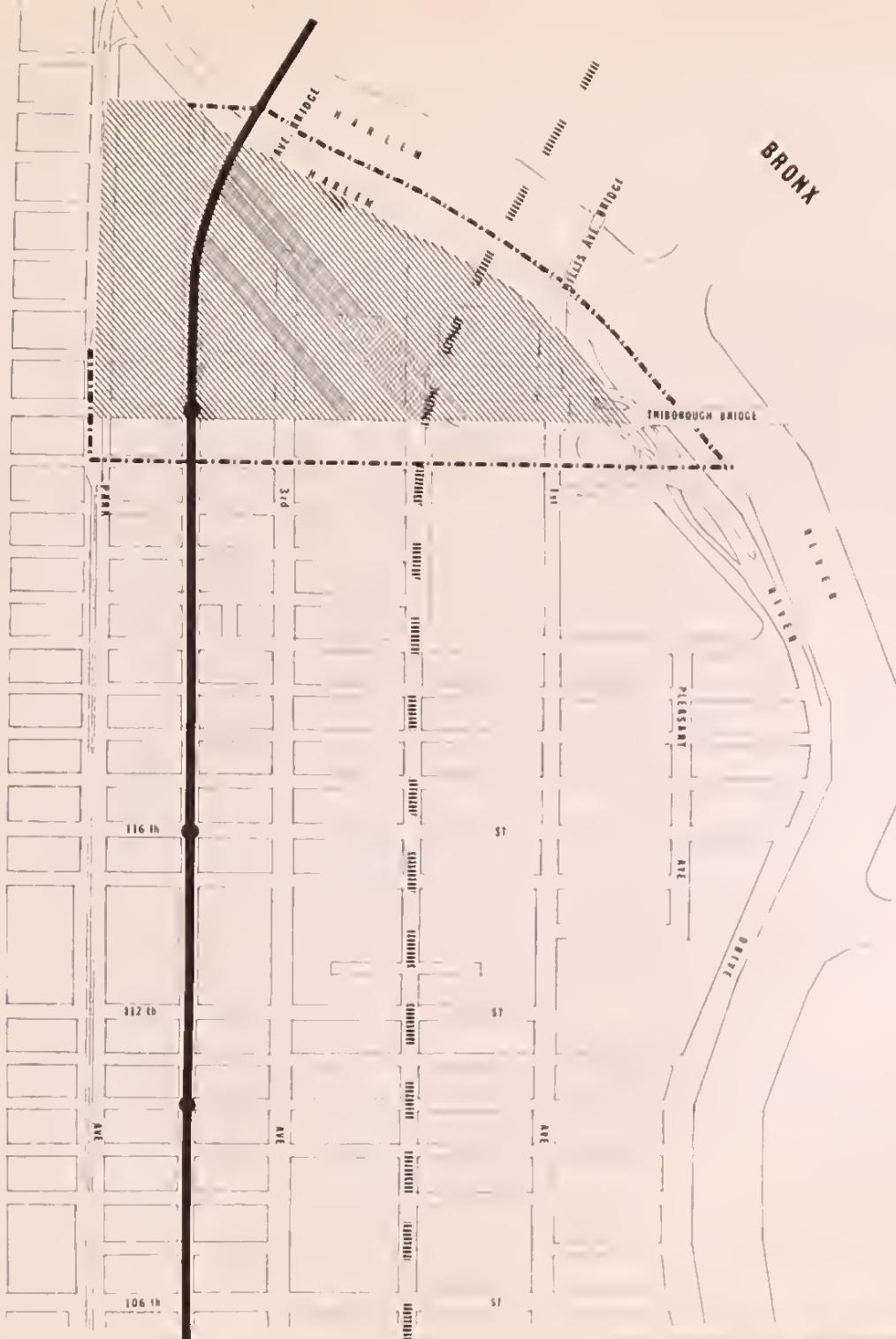
City Planning theory (see figure 5) two basic requirements for the physical structure of a healthy, viable community: (1) Housing, commercial and industrial areas should be located accessible to, but not in conflict with each other, and (2) There must be no conflict between vehicles and pedestrians. Furthermore, the physical community is *defined not divided* by major streets and other physical barriers so that social interaction can be maintained without disruption.

The major physical problems other than inadequate housing and related uses in poor condition detailed later in this report are the incompatible mixture of land uses and, most important, the heavy vehicular traffic passing through the area off the bridges to such streets as Second, Third, First Avenues and 125th Street, dividing the Triangle into fragmented pieces and preventing the creation of a viable unified community to say nothing of the danger to life and limb particularly the young, helpless, and the aged.

There are some downtown who say with a cavalier air that traffic must flow freely if the city is to survive. We tell them that first of all their children don't have to face the dangers of being run over by a speeding auto coming off the Third Avenue Bridge. Secondly, we tell them our plan concept illustrates ways to re-route traffic around the neighborhood while at the same time improving vehicular circulation throughout Manhattan and the Metropolitan area. Finally, we tell them the Triangle must develop as a residential neighborhood and that through auto traffic must not continue to pass through our community.

It's about time for the planning theories that developed America's suburbs to be applied to our urban ghettos. Let it be known to all, the people of the Triangle will no longer settle for the inept, second-class type of physical planning that developed Harlem's public housing projects and windowless junior high schools.





CENTRAL
PARK

LOCATION MAP

EAST HARLEM
TRIANGLE AREA

LEXINGTON AVE SUBWAY
2ND AVENUE (PROPOSED) SUBWAY

PROPOSED BOUNDARY EXTENSION

QUEENS

EAST HARLEM TRIANGLE
ARCH 306 LENOX AVE.
NEW YORK N.Y.



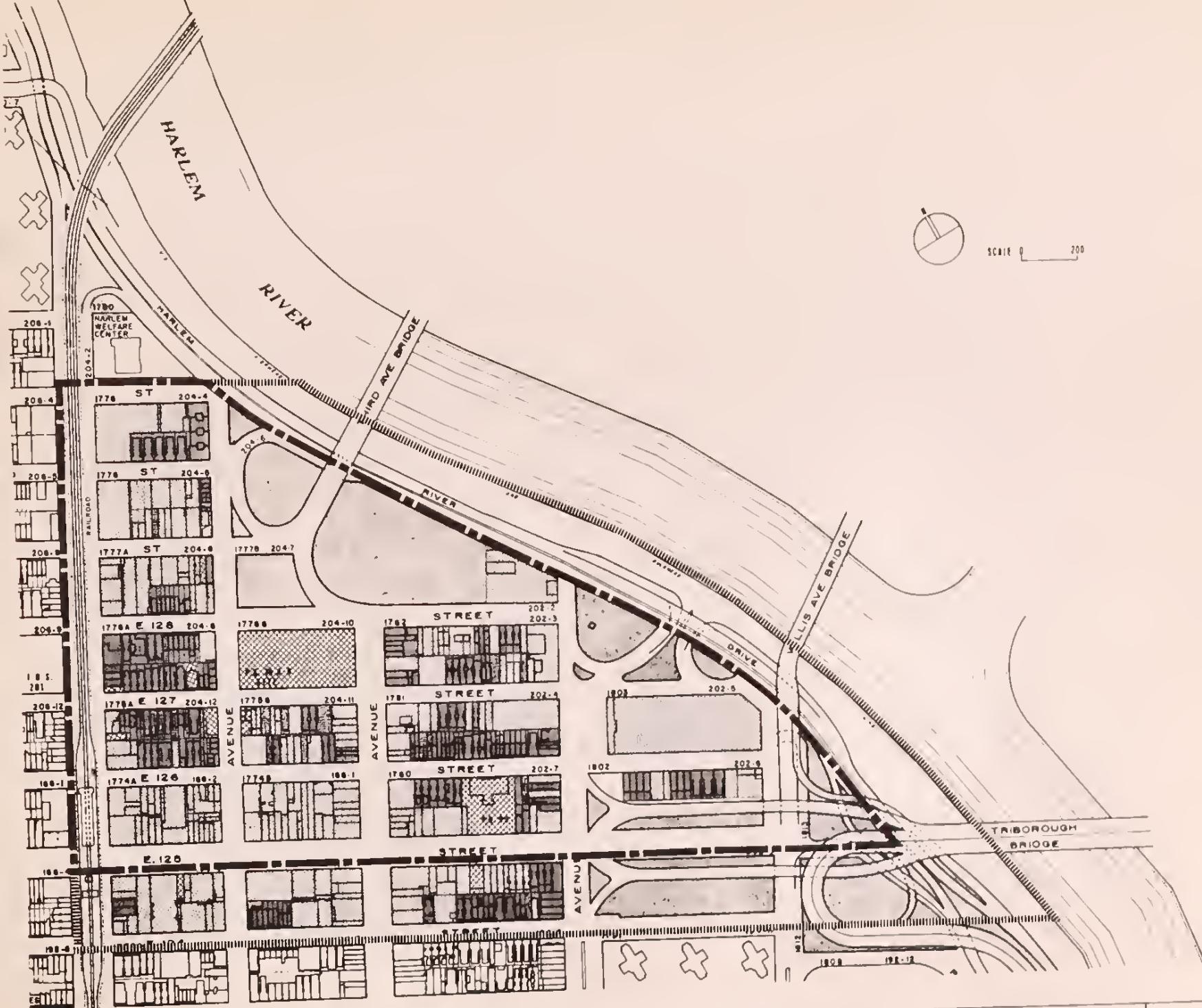
EXISTING ZONING

FINAL PROJECT REPORT

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

EAST HARLEM TRIANGLE
ARCH 308 LEXOX AVE.
NEW YORK N.Y.





EXISTING LAND USE

RESIDENTIAL
COMMERCIAL
INSTITUTIONAL

JACOB LEVY

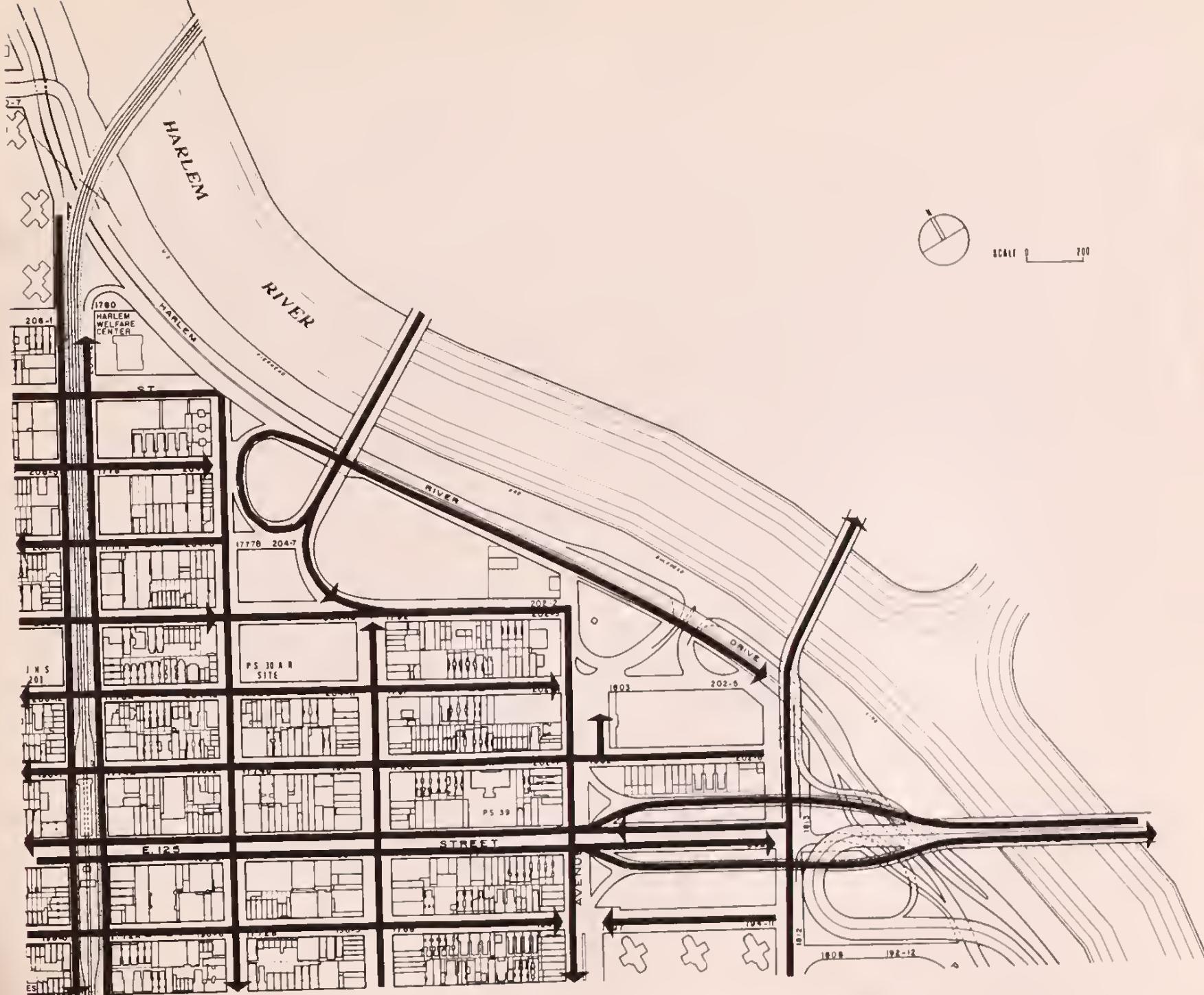
FINAL PROJECT REPORT

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
HOUSING & DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

EAST HARLEM TRIANGLE
ARCH 306 LENOX AVE.
NEW YORK N.Y.

CODE NO.





EXISTING TRAFFIC
FLOW

FINAL PROJECT REPORT

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
HOUSING & DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

EAST HARLEM TRIANGLE
ARCH 306 LENOX AVE.
NEW YORK N.Y.

CODE NO.



EXISTING TRAFFIC VOLUME

SCALE IN THOUSANDS OF VEHICLES PER DAY

FINAL PROJECT REPORT

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
BUDGET & DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

EAST HARLEM TRIANGLE
ARCH 306 LEXON AVE.
NEW YORK N.Y.

2001 40



EXISTING BUILDING
CONDITIONS

SOUND
 MINOR DEFICIENCIES
 MAJOR DEFICIENCIES

SUBSTANTIAL
 VACANT BUILDINGS

FINAL PROJECT REPORT

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
HOUSING & DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

EAST HARLEM TRIANGLE
ARCH 506 LENOX AVE.
NEW YORK N.Y.



SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROFILE

The Triangle can be viewed as a decaying and poorly used physical plant which is incapable, given its present resources, of meeting community goals of adequate jobs, housing and social services. There are also other problems caused by the narcotic addicts, alcoholics and prostitutes who have made the Triangle their home. Some are residents and others are transients. High crime and low employment rates are no strangers to the community.

THE AREA AND ITS PEOPLE

The Triangle, as seen through the eyes of its inhabitants, is a small and friendly community which has great potential as a place where both housing – new and rehabilitated – and new types of industry can be combined to produce a new community with jobs and housing for the Triangle people. Data from S.D.C. indicates that 80% of the residents believe that the idea of new business and industry locating in the community is a sound one. The rationale for this belief is that the community will have priority in the new jobs which are created.

The following table expresses selected population characteristics of the Triangle area.

**TABLE 1
SELECTED POPULATION
CHARACTERISTICS**

Characteristic	% of Total	% of Negro	% of Puerto Rican	% of White
% Population under 21	48.7%	49.2%	54.1%	19.9%
% Population over 60	9.8%	8.0%	3.6%	52.2%
% Native of NYC	39.2%	43.4%	32.5%	37.2%
Median Age	43.0	42.2	37.3	63.2
Median Household Size	1.9	1.8	3.6	1.1
Percent Migrants (5 Yrs. or less in NYC)	19.7%			

Source: Social Dynamics Corporation: The East Harlem Triangle – A Sociological and Economic Study. April 1968.



The whites, who are remnants of a once strong Italian population, constitute the majority of the elderly and small household units. The blacks and Puerto Ricans clearly make up the majority of the young and larger family units. There are indications that Triangle area residents tend to be relatively stable and certainly the scale of the community affords a better opportunity for personal interaction and security impossible to achieve in larger communities.

BUILDING CONDITION AND HOUSING

To determine the extent of the Triangle's physical deterioration, ARCH surveyors proceeded in two stages. The first stage involved photographing and evaluating the exterior condition of every building in the area.

Buildings were classified as sound, minor deficiencies, major deficiencies, or substandard on the basis of the condition of the roof, foundation, porch, siding, steps, windows, doors, chimney stacks, and other characteristics. To cross-check the accuracy of such classification, one hundred buildings were selected for intensive exterior and interior surveys by a different survey team.

The survey, revealed the following characteristics. There are 278 structures in the Triangle. The survey showed 143 of the 148 residential structures to be either substandard or having serious deficiencies. Most of the housing is old, as 75 are old law tenements, were built before 1920 when different standards of light and space were in effect. Of the remaining residential structures 50 are brownstones and 19 are new law tenements while four are frame structures. The condition of commercial structures is not better. Out of a total of 141 structures, 108 are substandard or have deficiencies.

Much of the area's population decline over the past years is a direct result of the demolition and abandonment of nearly one-third of the Triangle's occupied housing units. An S.D.C. survey showed that approximately three-fourths of a sample of former Triangle residents were interested in returning to live in the area if they were able to find an apartment at a rent they could afford, an indication of which is presented as follows:

TABLE 2
EAST HARLEM TRIANGLE
AREA, MAXIMUM MONTHLY
RENT CAN AFFORD

Cost	% Respondents
Below \$40	4.5
\$40-59	23.4
60-79	24.9
80-89	14.5
100-119	6.5
120 & Over	3.4
Don't know	22.8

Source: Social Dynamics Corporation: The East Harlem Triangle, a Sociological and Economic Study. 1968.

It is estimated that 2000 units of new and rehabilitated housing are needed for current Triangle area residents and the projected natural population increase. In keeping with the Triangle philosophy to be elaborated upon later, 500 units should be slated for moderate income families.

In the past the urban renewal or more accurately "urban removal" process saw minority families forced from their homes into dwellings in equally bad or worse condition at rents *higher* than before. Their neighborhood was cleared, the ground laid bare for years before speculators developed middle and upper income dwellings if not elaborate commercial, office or industrial complexes. The idea that former residents had first choice to the new apartments was a cruel joke, an insult that has helped to polarize American society today. Recently, the so-called "humanitarians" have advocated a policy whereby residents of renewal areas would be moved "temporarily" into nearby dwellings while new construction was under way. This is little improvement over the past because it is inhuman to move people around like so many heads of cattle. Clearly a better answer must be found.

TABLE 3
ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS -
EAST HARLEM TRIANGLE

Characteristic	Heads Households	%	Total Family Members	%	Characteristic	Heads Households	%
1. Employment Status							
Total	401	100	685	100	Occupation Breakdown		
Employed	185	46.1	297	43.4	Self Employed		3.3
Unemployed or not seeking work	216	53.9	388	51.3	Clerical		6.7
					Skilled		6.7
					Semi-Skilled		41.7
					Unskilled		40.0
					Other		1.6
2. Employed Persons							
Male	140	75.7	220	74.1	Occupation Aspirations		
Female	45	24.3	77	25.9	Professional	10	4.0
Total	185	100%	297	100%			
3. Source of Income							
Employment	160	39.9			Civil Service	4	1.6
Welfare	124	30.9			Clerical	29	11.6
Pension - Social Security	48	12.0			Skilled	10	4.2
Employment & Other	43	10.7			Semi-Skilled	28	11.2
Other	26	6.5			Unskilled	54	21.6
Total	401	100%			Any better jobs	14	5.6
					No desire to change	60	24.0
					Don't know	41	16.2
					Total		
4. Mean Income Employment							
Male	\$4,157		\$3,658		Parental Aspirations for children		
Female	4,428		4,093		Professional	101	47.6
Under 30	3,227		3,351		Gov't Civil Service	11	5.2
30-39	4,074		3,789		Clerical	13	6.1
60 & Over	5,157		3,957		Other	34	16.0
1 Member Househd.	4,503		4,393		Make Money Succeed	19	9.0
2-3	3,704		3,704		Child to Decide	25	11.8
4 or more Member Househd.	4,220		4,006		Don't Know	75	35.4
	4,318		3,934				

*Source: Social Dynamics Corporation *The East Harlem Triangle a Sociological and Economic Study*

The Triangle area presents a unique opportunity to develop a solution to this problem so desperately needed. There is vacant land at present. New construction should be initiated there first, and a staged program of moving, demolition and development should be instituted in a way that a resident need move only once into a new or rehabilitated housing. Temporary relocation measures cannot and will not be tolerated as an alternative by the Triangle residents.

PEOPLE AND JOBS

The preceding table portrays the dismal economic conditions that plague the Triangle area. Triangle residents are very poor people. The mean per capita income is \$1250. That is 28.5% lower than the mean per capita income of Mississippi in 1966 which is the poorest state in America. Less than one-half of the heads of households are gainfully employed in the Triangle and nearly one-third of its residents are dependent upon welfare assistance as their sole source of income and another one-third obtain income exclusively from pensions, social security, or unemployment disability and compensation. Employed Triangle heads of households work mainly in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations, with 83.3 working in blue collar jobs and only 6.7 working as craftsmen. Median gross income for the Triangle as a whole is \$3,658 and \$4,157 for households. Therefore, the average Triangle family has an estimated gross annual income deficit of approximately \$1,500 according to the standards required for a moderate living.

The foregoing income figures depict those segments of the Triangle which are either employed or receive some regular income; they do not reveal that the 1967 unemployment rate for black Triangle residents was 11.3% higher than the national average black unemployment rate. Puerto Rican unemployment was at a comparable level. Even these figures do not reveal the full severity of the problem because of the total employed Triangle labor force, 20.4% were not employed for a full year.

TABLE 4
EDUCATION
CHARACTERISTICS-
EAST HARLEM
TRIANGLE AREA

Head of Household							
Last Grade Completed	Total %	6-21	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and Over
Less than 6	20.9	—	5.0	12.7	29.3	25.0	36.5
6th	6.5	—	4.0	4.2	4.0	12.5	9.4
7th	5.7	—	2.0	8.5	5.3	8.9	7.1
8th	10.2	—	5.9	11.3	8.0	17.9	11.8
9th	9.0	—	10.9	11.3	12.0	8.9	3.5
10th	9.0	—	14.9	11.3	10.7	7.1	1.2
11th	9.7	—	21.8	9.9	6.7	3.6	2.4
12 or more	19.1	—	31.7	10.9	16.0	10.7	11.8
no response	9.9	—	3.8	9.9	8.0	5.4	16.3
Total Family Members							
Less than 6	24.7	81.1	6.4	15.6	25.0	25.0	36.0
6th	5.2	12.9	6.4	2.8	3.6	10.0	7.9
7th	4.1	8.0	2.6	6.4	8.0	6.2	7.0
8th	6.9	14.0	4.5	12.8	8.9	17.5	11.4
9th	6.3	15.2	10.3	7.3	11.6	8.8	4.4
10th	6.6	24.1	9.6	11.0	10.7	6.2	0.9
11th	6.8	16.4	19.2	11.9	6.3	3.8	2.6
12 or more	13.0	21.8	35.9	23.9	15.2	12.5	10.6
no response	6.8	3.9	5.1	8.3	10.7	10.0	19.2

The employment situation is much worse for the youth of the Triangle. A survey of black and Puerto Rican Triangle youth under the age of 21 and not in school showed 37% were unemployed. Unemployment among blacks was 58.8% which is twice as high as the national rate for black teenagers. Moreover, of the total employed group of Puerto Rican and blacks only 32.6% work full time. Over 93% of the jobs held by these young people are semi-skilled blue collar jobs and these persons work mainly in commercial and manufacturing establishments. Respondents who disclosed their earnings reported average earnings of \$67.80 per week.

SCHOOLS

For the Triangle, as for most places, low income and low employment skills are concomitants of low educational achievement. This is true even though SDC data indicate that employment income under the sixth grade is \$3,441, for the sixth to the eleventh grade is \$3,953, and for high school and over is \$3,559.

Only 19.1% of all Triangle family heads completed the 12th grade; more than 20% have less than a sixth grade education. Educational achievement is generally higher among family members in the 22-29 age group, with approximately one-third having completed 12 grades or more.

Among the Triangle's young people, a majority of those in school saw no obstacles to achieving their occupational aspirations while virtually the same percentage (43.5) of those not in school saw lack of training and education as the major obstacle to achieving their occupational aspirations. About one-fourth of those no longer in school had graduated from high school. The older group, confronted with the reality of finding and holding satisfactory jobs, tended to feel that schooling had not been helpful in earning a living. Nearly one-half of those no longer in school have plans to obtain additional training within the next six months.

Clearly the schools are not preparing Triangle youth for productive futures in 20th Century America. There are some 1,831 people in the Triangle who are between the ages of six and 30. Additionally, there are 847 children from the age of infant to five years old. Both school and job practices must be changed in order to effect change in the lives of these people from the Triangle.

One way to improve educational quality is community control of the schools on a policy-making level. While this concept has just recently found its way into the news media, the Triangle association espoused the idea back in 1962 in response to the I.S. 201 controversy. Six years later the Triangle Association is more convinced than ever that community control of our schools must be implemented as one means of achieving quality education.

SOCIAL SERVICES

Low income communities require special types of social services and facilities in order to fully respond to the needs of the people. However, the Triangle area contains only schools PS 39 and PS 30 (currently under construction), two firehouses, a branch library, the Harlem Eye and Ear Hospital, MEND, the East Harlem Triangle area services unit, and the Community Association of the East Harlem Triangle serve as existing community facilities.

On June 15, 1968 Harlem Eye and Ear Hospital closed, however, the staff physicians continue to maintain the facilities on a part-time basis. Although this hospital enjoys a favorable reputation, its range of services is much too narrow to meet the health needs of a ghetto area with high incidence of illness which often require services of hospitalization.

In reference to the hospital's closing, we must remember that a specialized facility of this type is only a supportive arm to a much greater range of medical services. There are no such medical facilities in the Triangle at present.

It is a well known fact that doctors will not make house calls in the Triangle. Therefore, well over half of the Triangle heads of households received their only medical care in the emergency room of the Harlem Hospital. Also, about half of the Triangle heads of households were hospitalized during the last year and Harlem Hospital is not particularly known for its high quality of medical care.

Child care and senior citizen facilities are non-existent in the Triangle. Yet there are 840 children in the Triangle, between the ages of infant to five years old, who could use these facilities whether this would free their mothers to work or not. There are some 420 senior citizens, 60 years or over, who need a place where they can gather for general recreational and health referral needs.

The narcotics addicts and alcoholics are still hanging around and living in the Triangle. They need help, and at present the Triangle is not equipped to aid them in any manner. So it is their lot to go on stealing from the poor residents until an overdose produces an endless sleep.

Narcotics addicts remain addicts. Alcoholics remain alcoholics. The elderly grow more elderly alone, and without appropriate medical attention. People can't make enough to support their families because of illness, poor education and racism. The children go to school without learning and with false and unreal hopes about future employment. The community does not give anyone a place to go if he or she wishes to relax and plan a new life. The community remains sick and finds it can't produce enough to get well. In essence, the present Triangle facilities are not barely adequate to make a new world for the people.

The following is a listing of just some of the social services needed in the Triangle area:

TABLE 5
EXAMPLES OF SOCIAL
SERVICE PROGRAMS
BY AGE GROUP

Age Group	Type of Service
Preschool (up to 6)	Day Care Medical Care Recreation
School Age (7-18)	Tutorial Medical & Dental Care Employment Counseling (14-18) Recreation
Adult (19-60)	Employment Counseling and Training Remedial Education Narcotics Treatment Alcoholics Treatment Marriage Counseling Consumer Education Legal Aid Day Care for Working Mothers Homemaker Assistance Medical & Dental Care
Senior Citizens (61+)	Recreation Employment Retraining Medical & Dental Care Consumer Education

The Triangle Association will contract for and operate many of these services, training and employing neighborhood residents wherever possible. This policy will help not only to provide workers who relate with fellow residents, but will attack the problem of employment as well.

THE RETAIL, COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL USE

The Triangle conforms to the commercial pattern of most predominantly black low-income communities. Most enterprises are owned by whites who employ comparatively few of the area's non-white population.

A survey of a representative sample of the Triangle's 142 retail establishments—those selling goods or services—revealed that whites owned 85.4% of all such businesses with blacks and Puerto Ricans owning only 12.4% and 2.2% respectively. The racial breakdown of retail employment is 40% white, 38% black and 21% Puerto Rican, indicating that retail employers reach outside the community for their labor supply. It is estimated that no more than 20% of the retail work force resides in the Triangle even though most of the jobs are classified as unskilled or semiskilled blue collar jobs.

Relatively few persons are employed per retail establishment, the mean number varying from a high of 6.9 and 6.2 in the services and automotive fields respectively, to a low of 2.0 in buildings and hardware supply stores. A majority (84.2%) of all workers are male.

As a source of continuing employment and economic activity, the Triangle's retail establishments are relatively unstable, displaying a high turnover in ownership; approximately 37% of the retail establishments have been under their present ownership for five years or less. Even though nearly a majority (48.3%) of interviewed establishments expressed a willingness to train blacks and Puerto Ricans (with 23% not replying) fewer than one-half of these establishments had plans to hire additional workers in the next two to three months. Nearly half of these entrepreneurs blamed crime for whatever business difficulties they were experiencing. A typical complaint was "people don't come around here anymore."

In marked contrast with the retail establishments, the non-retail establishments in the Triangle are more stable and produce a number of jobs. Nearly 64% of the latter have been located in the Triangle for ten years or more under the present ownership. Like the retail concerns, they reach outside the community for blue collar workers; of the total non-retail work-force, only 18% are Triangle residents and only 17.5% are

black as compared with 43.5% white and 39.0% Puerto Rican. Out of a total of 105 establishments, it is estimated that 83% are owned by whites, 14% by Puerto Ricans and 2% by blacks.

Non-retail enterprises fall into three main manufacturing categories: apparel, lumber and wood products, and fabricated metals. The apparel industry, representing only 31% of all establishments, employs nearly 59% of all non-retail employees (or 690 persons out of a total sample of 1,175). Most blacks (56.8%) and Puerto Ricans (80.3%) are employed in apparel manufacturing which is the least stable of all non-retail industries. The industry's median gross annual sales were \$132,800.

Prospects for increased employment of Triangle residents in the non-retail establishments are not good. Most job vacancies are for women sewing machine operators in the apparel industry. Overall, more establishments decreased (28.5%) than increased (18.2%) their work-force during the past three years. Over this period, there was an estimated net loss of about 150 jobs. The majority (80.5%) of all establishments reported no expansion of their physical plant within the last five years. Of the 18.2% present who plan to expand, approximately two-thirds intended to expand either through the purchase of new machinery or by moving from the Triangle. Nearly 24% of all entrepreneurs, employing approximately 24% of the Triangle labor force, were contemplating moving from the Triangle, the main reason being neighborhood crime.

Among non-retail establishments, there is a relative absence of training programs. The training programs reported covered only 6.5% of current workers and 16.9% of new workers. What was surprising was the unwillingness of 44.2% to train minority group workers where training would involve neither cost nor obligation, particularly since these establishments reported labor shortage as a negative business factor, second only to neighborhood crime. They also reported that the most frequently used employment source was the New York State Employment Service. Over 30% of the employees were unfamiliar with the Community Association of the East Harlem Triangle. Of the approximately 43% familiar with the Association, nearly 80% said they would use the Triangle Association as an employment source.

In approaching a solution for the economic ills of the Triangle area it is not enough to simply advocate the idea of placing new industry in or near the community hoping that private corporations will train some residents for jobs. Rather, we must specify examples which would really improve the economic lot of Triangle residents.

A Neighborhood Economic Development Board (NEDB) could be set up. This board, to be governed by a body of Triangle area residents could then negotiate with private corporations for establishment of plants in either vacated facilities or on new sites with the understanding that the newly developed industries would be subsidiaries of the parent corporation training residents in all phases of operations. In addition to these developments, the NEDB would develop independent enterprises such as catering, laundry, and maintenance establishments servicing the new and existing industries in the Triangle area. Another function of the NEDB would be to provide financial and consulting services to new private entrepreneurs, especially those in retail trade.

It is clear that in order for the Triangle area to service and prosper, residents must exercise control over their affairs. This philosophy must be extended not only to education and social services but economic development as well.

THE TRIANGLE MOOD

Most Triangle people no longer have very much hope in white America. They don't believe that new housing will ever get built in the Triangle for them. Some remember the later fifties when the City said that the Triangle would get new housing. Subsequently the City designated the Triangle for industrial use.

The white community in the Triangle might best be described as a separate community of old people who would rather be left alone. In general, the whites have seen their children grow up to take responsible positions in the American mainstream. They have seen blacks grow up and not do so well. They can't understand why, when "everybody went to the same schools."

The people in the Triangle know something is wrong. They simply are not "bettering themselves." Men and women cannot find decent jobs providing a living wage scale. Children are growing up diseased in mind and body for want of better social services. The addicts remain. Trucks and cars cut people down who cross streets too slowly. Housing just can't seem to get built for the poor. Something is wrong and the people in the Triangle know it.

The Triangle Association believes there is a breath of hope remaining; that breath of hope is themselves. They know they must somehow deliver what all poor people need. Nothing less would suffice.



125th. looking west to Park Ave.

B.

THE

CONCEPT

PLAN



THE TRIANGLE PHILOSOPHY

The philosophy of the Triangle includes three basic tenets:

- 1) The community must become able to provide a human and decent life style for the people who are currently living in the Triangle.
- 2) Those people who have left the Triangle, for any number of reasons, must be offered an opportunity to come back if they so desire.
- 3) The Triangle must attempt to attract some new middle income residents after existing needs are met. A healthy community is a growing community with some modicum of economic and social diversity.

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

Some type of community review, veto or control is absolutely essential. While middle class communities accept this as a basic fact of life and act accordingly. In truth, all communities must have some type of control over the direction of their lives. This is particularly meaningful for black communities whose direction is controlled by others. The implementation of the Triangle philosophy is based upon the fact of community control, and it must be so.

The concept plan is the community's overall scheme for redressing the Triangle's social, physical, and economic ills. It is the community's protection against the whims of others. As such, it embodies the objectives and values of the Triangle. The plan must not be viewed as a static entity but a flexible device for dramatic change.

CONCEPT PLAN

Although many of its elements are final and capable of immediate implementation, others are more tentative and require further study and elaboration. Central to the plan is the proposed community review power of all housing, economic and social development proposals for the area.

The key to concept plan implementation revolves around the use of housing as both an economic and residential commodity. The 2000 new and rehabilitated units of housing will serve the immediate function of providing decent shelter for present and former Triangle residents. Also, in keeping with the Triangle philosophy, 500 of the proposed units will be developed for moderate income use, not to be developed as islands of middle class dwellings but integrated into the total community.

The difficult task will be to provide low cost standard housing for the community's predominantly low-income population. The Triangle and its consultants are examining federal and state housing programs under existing and proposed legislation to determine the most flexible and feasible approach. Although public housing has not been ruled out, the Triangle favors programs such as the federal 221(d)(3) rent supplement program under which local community organizations like the Triangle are able to sponsor, own and manage the resulting housing. All housing proposals of outside redevelopers will be reviewed by the Association to determine their conformance with the community's housing objectives, particularly its requirement that all housing be locally owned and managed.

The establishment of a corporation is proposed to manage existing and newly constructed housing and related developments. This corporation will also train local residents in various phases of building operation such as superintendents, rental management, agents, janitor, maintenance technicians, etc. The management corporation will be governed by a board of neighborhood residents and will be empowered to hire consultants to advise and train personnel.

As a stop gap measure until the final urban renewal plan is approved and major rehabilitation and new construction is under way, the Triangle favors a housing repair program to remedy basic heating, plumbing, and electrical defects. Presently ARCH and the Triangle's housing consultants are investigating ways to link the financing of such short term repairs to that of the new construction and rehabilitation which eventually will occur.

SPECIFIC PLAN ELEMENTS

Residential sectors of the Triangle have been placed mainly in the core. Buffers and open space have been provided by the creation and arrangement of green space and housing patterns, the re-routing of dangerous traffic and in some cases the closing of streets to all but local vehicles.

The economic viability of the community is depended upon, among other factors, the development of retail activity on 125th Street. Subsequently, improvement of 125th Street as the community's major retail center will be facilitated by the development of a business center with office and apartments at the eastern end of the street. Traffic changes and the strong concentration of office and residential use in the business center are expected to create an environment which is conducive to competitive economic activity.

Triangle people have always conceived of the Triangle as a good place for residential and industrial uses. The community is, of course, opposed to low skill, low pay, sweat shop operations which invariably contribute to both physical and social blight. Triangle criteria for reviewing economic development proposals include number of jobs available for Triangle residents, the skill levels of the jobs to be created, the existence and scope of training programs, and opportunities for advancement with the industry. Although the plan provides for the removal of some industrial establishments and jobs, the Triangle will take steps to insure that the remaining industries draw more of their work force from the Triangle population.

It is obvious to everyone that the traffic problem will have to be solved before any of the Triangle residential goals can be realized. The resulting traffic proposals embody four objectives:

- 1) to facilitate the flow of Triangle-destined traffic with the area.
- 2) to divert traffic destined elsewhere from the Triangle.
- 3) to restructure bridge approaches so as to increase the amount and accessibility of park areas.
- 4) to create pedestrian islands free of vehicular traffic.

The traffic proposal provides for the closing of 125th Street to all through traffic except local buses, taxis and local shopping traffic existing traffic will be diverted to 126th and 124th Streets which will generate as one-way pairs. Also, 129th Street between Park Avenue and Lexington Avenue, 128th Street between Lexington and Second Avenues, and 127th Street between Lexington and Second Avenues will all be closed.

At the Third Avenue Bridge, in-coming traffic from the Bronx will flow directly into Harlem River Drive and Second Avenue by means of a new ramp. This will relieve the congestion on 128th Street. Finally, the 125th Street and Park Avenue Penn Central Railroad Station will be relocated to the southwest corner of 125th Street in order to encourage the smoother circulation of Park Avenue traffic. Hopefully, this will eliminate a blighting influence and create a greater use of the station.

An integral part of the whole concept plan is the programming of specific services to meet specific needs of the Triangle community. The plan proposes that all of these recommended services be located in a block bounded by 126th Street and 127th Street and Lexington and Third Avenues. This block will be designated as the "Triangle Commons."

Community facilities, as they operate today, are not quite enough to meet the needs of the poor. The Triangle intends to obtain facilities for the following programs: employment, health, golden age, narcotics addiction and alcoholics treatment, day care, legal services, recreational and creative arts services, and special education for youth both in and out of school. All of these facilities, if properly coordinated and programmed, can be turned into a total employment and economic development scheme for the Triangle.

A Community Development Studies Center (CDSC) is recommended as the Institution which should program the size and content of the social services facilities and economic development potential for the community.

The concept of the CDSC is a simple one. It consists of employing the services of a specialist, on a part-time basis, in the fields of education, employment, welfare and economic development. Each professional will have two community people, employed on a full time basis, who will assist them in determining true client population and the best services for the prospective clients. The CDSC will do research and development of community programs. Next, they will seek ways of having their proposals funded. It is possible that this program might become a model of what could be done in the area of designing community services and employing local people to staff them.

The Triangle commons will contain the welfare center which will serve 7500 clients. Additionally, this center will have auditorium space, classroom space, and a day care nursery unit to serve almost 100 children. Adjoining the building will be a playground area to serve the day care unit.

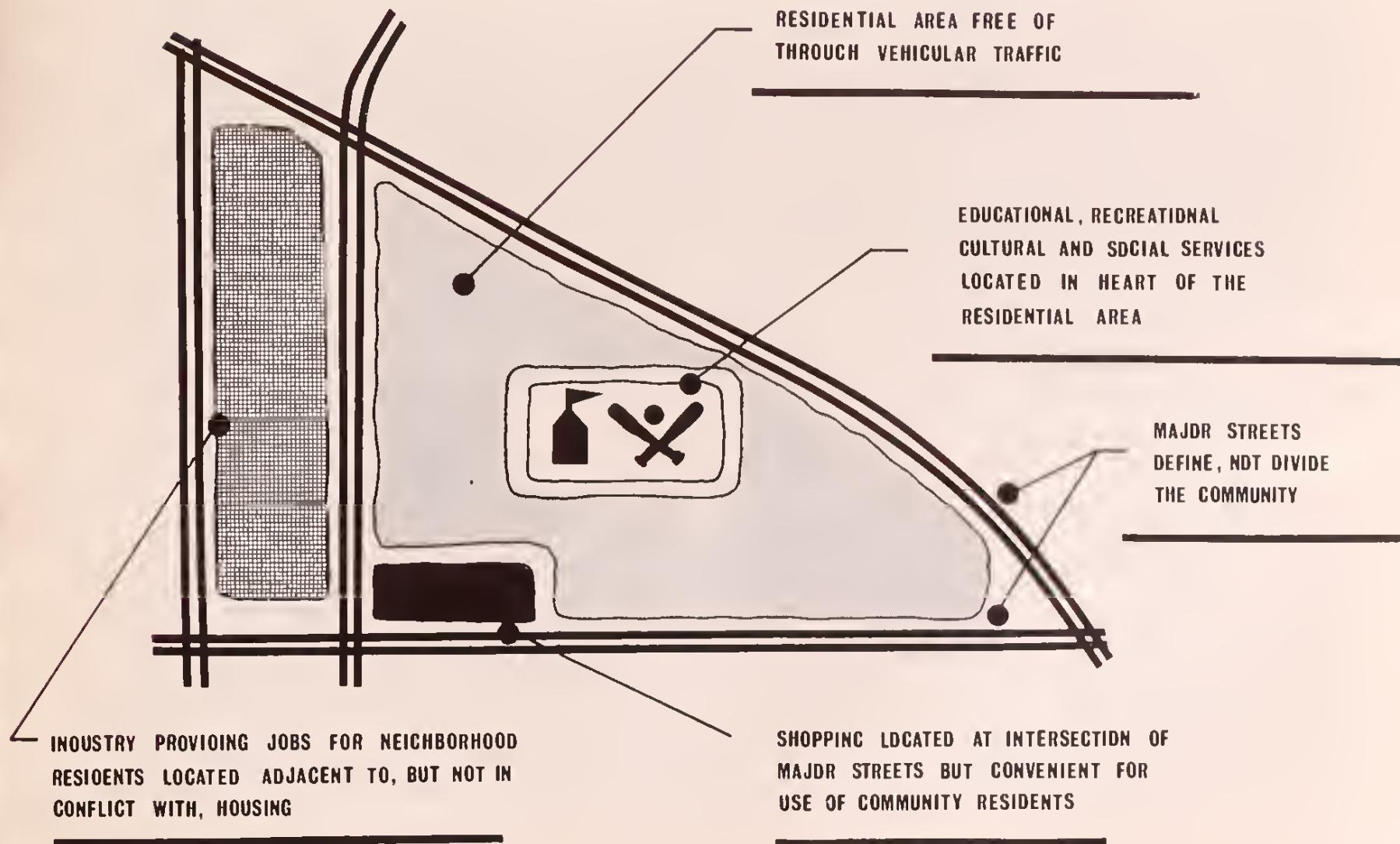
The Triangle health package will be located in one, or maybe two, structures in the "Triangle Commons." A part of this program will be devoted to rehabilitation of narcotics addicts and alcoholics. Special health problems of the elderly will also be treated. A complete mental and physical health program, on an out-patient basis will be instituted to meet the medical needs of the community.

Remedial type educational programs for youth both in and out of school, along with new types of adult training institutions, will also be located in the Triangle Commons block. Recreational type facilities will be located in the extended park area. On this block will also be located the CDSC which will program the Triangle social services unit.

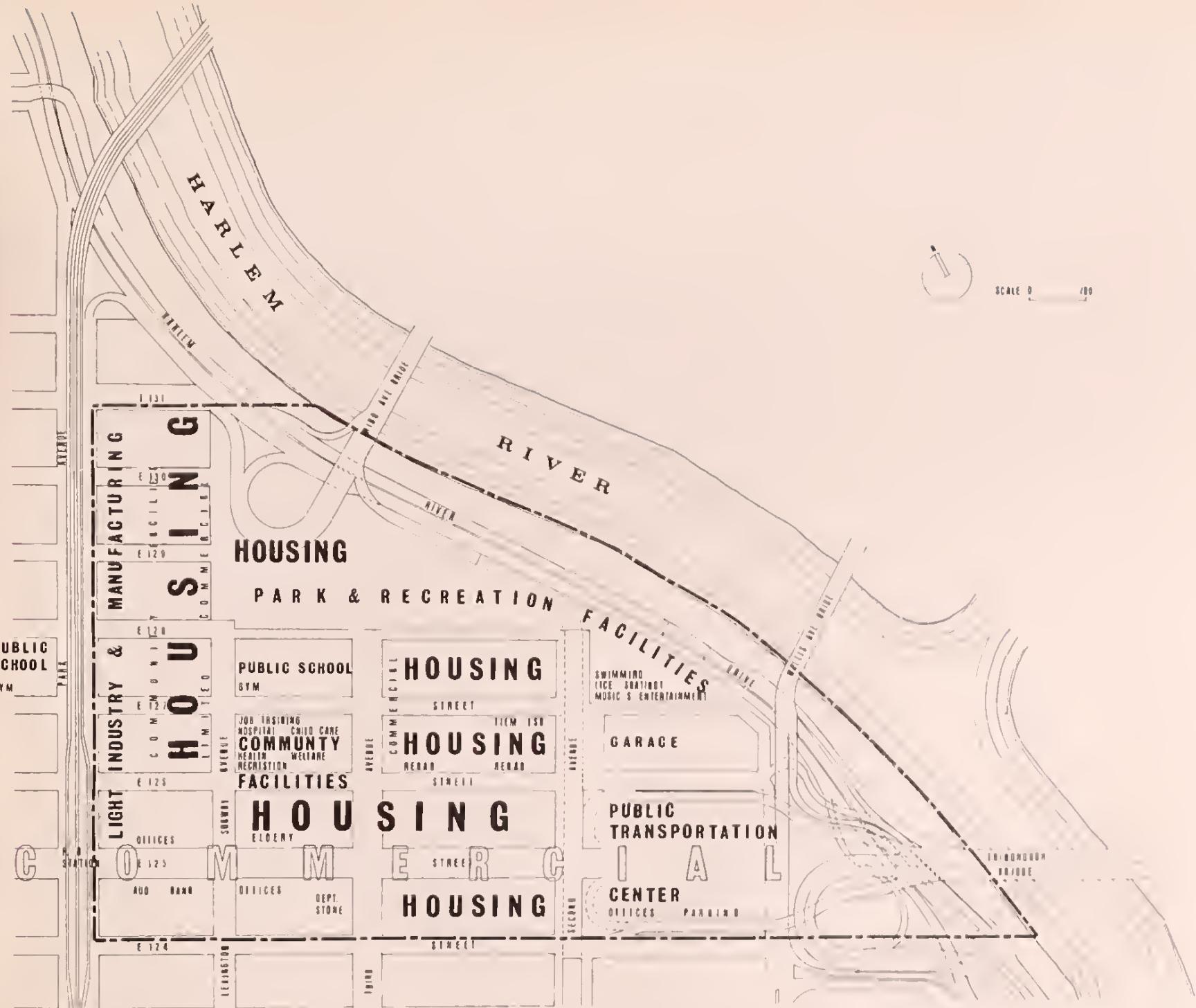
There is little disagreement within the Triangle over what facilities should be part of the Triangle Commons block. Moreover, Triangle residents expect to actively participate in the development and operation of the programs. This will involve the training of local residents and the setting of priorities and goals. The community intends to make and implement decisions. However, the Triangle must still determine which of the growing number of federal and local programs it wants to use as a means of financing specific programs.

In developing the Triangle Commons and the rest of the area, the Triangle is concerned not only with the provision of comprehensive services and decent shelter but also with the physical design of the new structures. By encouraging outstanding architectural and physical design, they hope to make the community an aesthetic as well as a social and economic model of dynamic, meaningful change.

THEORETICAL DESIGN FOR THE PHYSICAL COMMUNITY







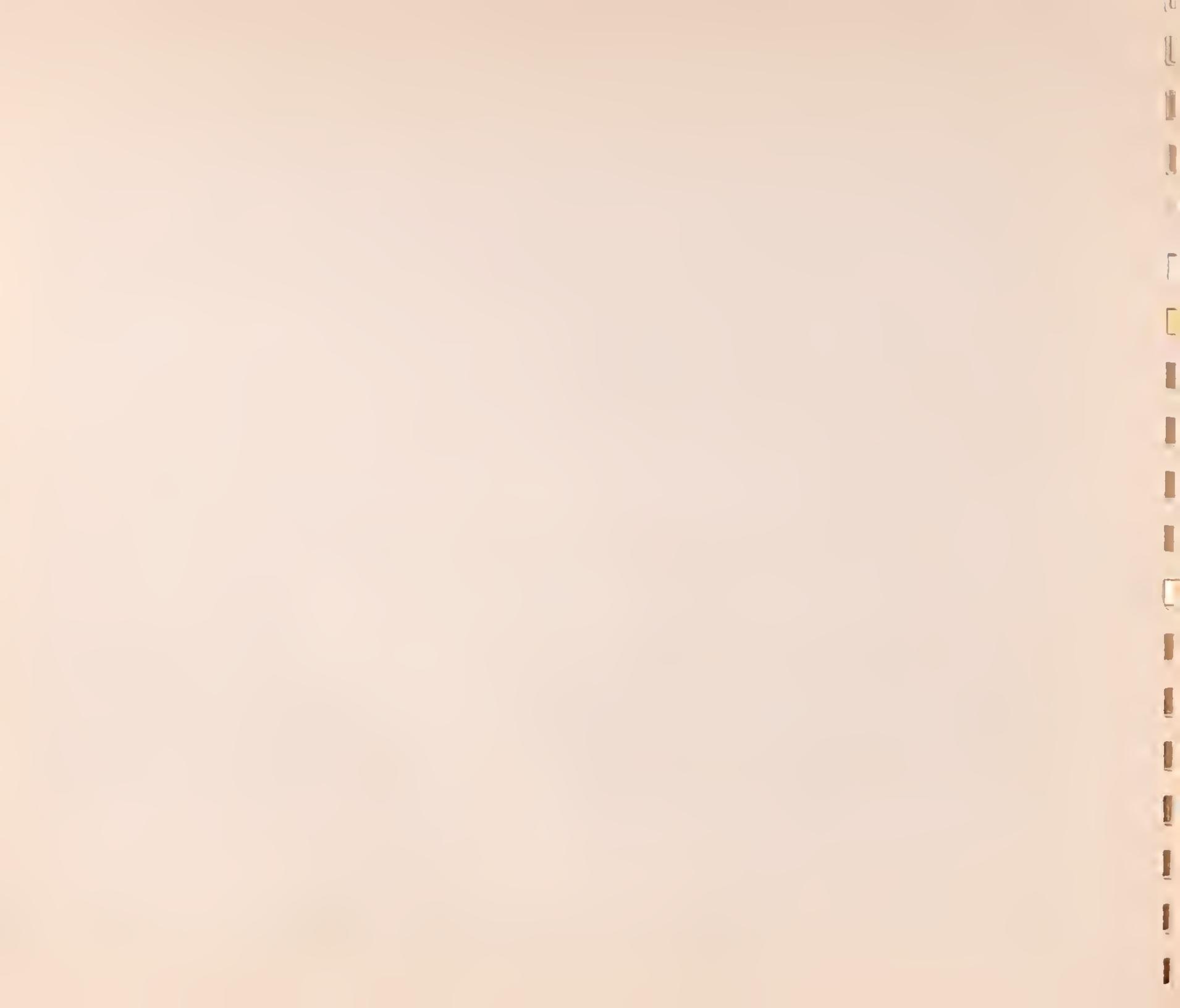
PROPOSED ACTVITIES
DIAGRAM

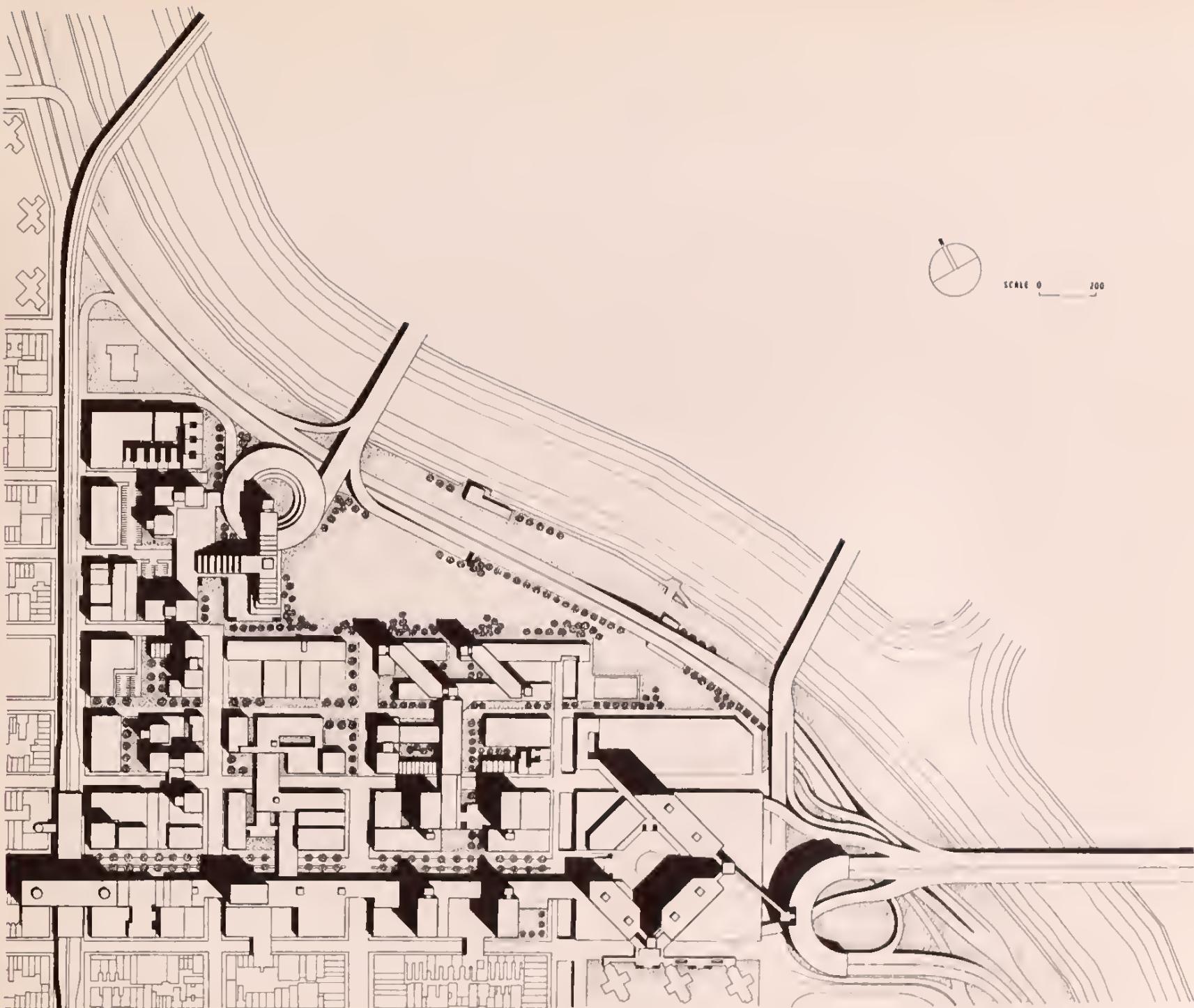
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SITE PLAN

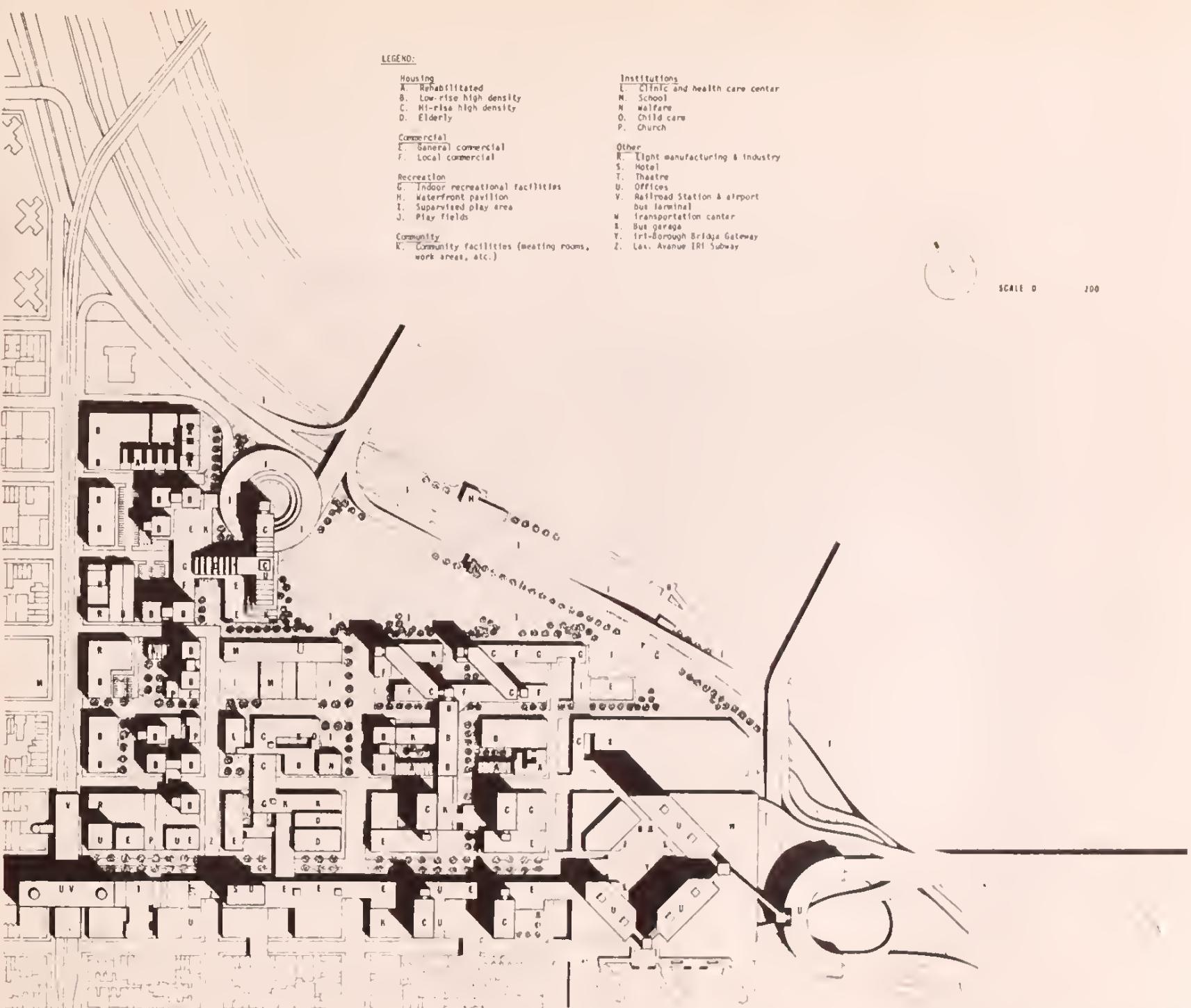
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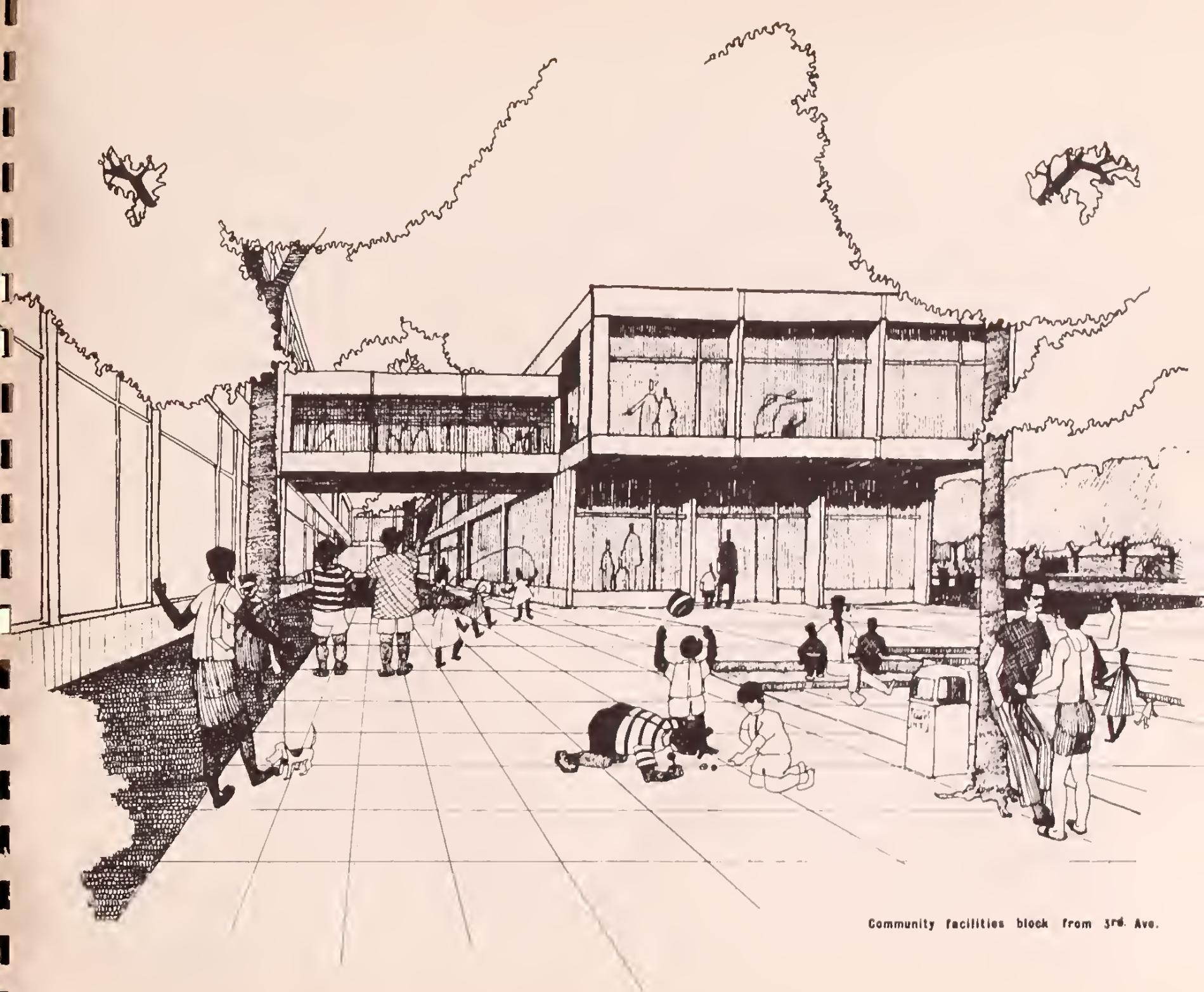


PROPOSED USES

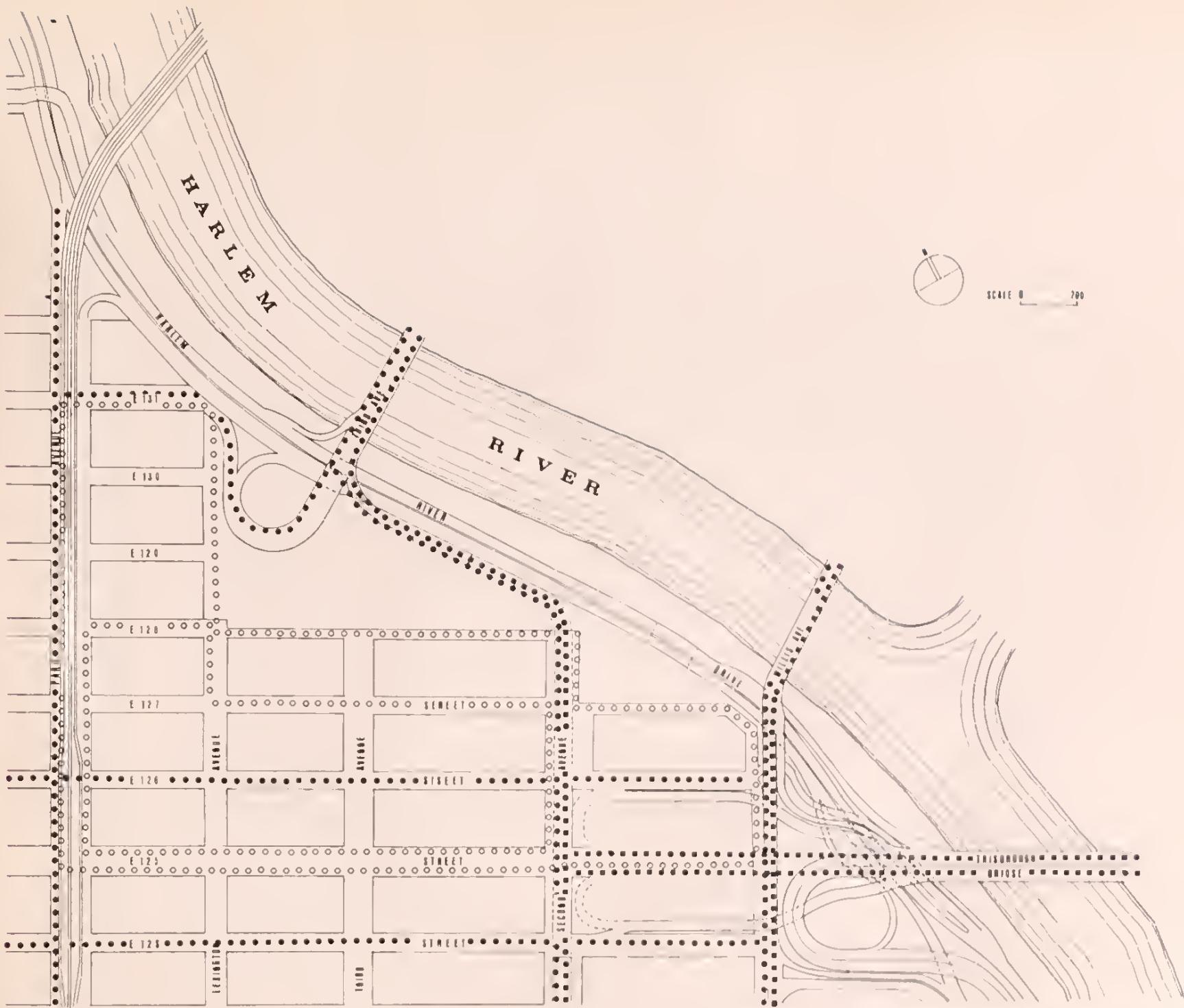
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FOR CITY OF NEW YORK
PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT PLAN SUBMISSION

EAST HARLEM TRIANGLE
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Community facilities block from 3rd Ave.



PROPOSED SURFACE
TRANSPORTATION
FACILITIES

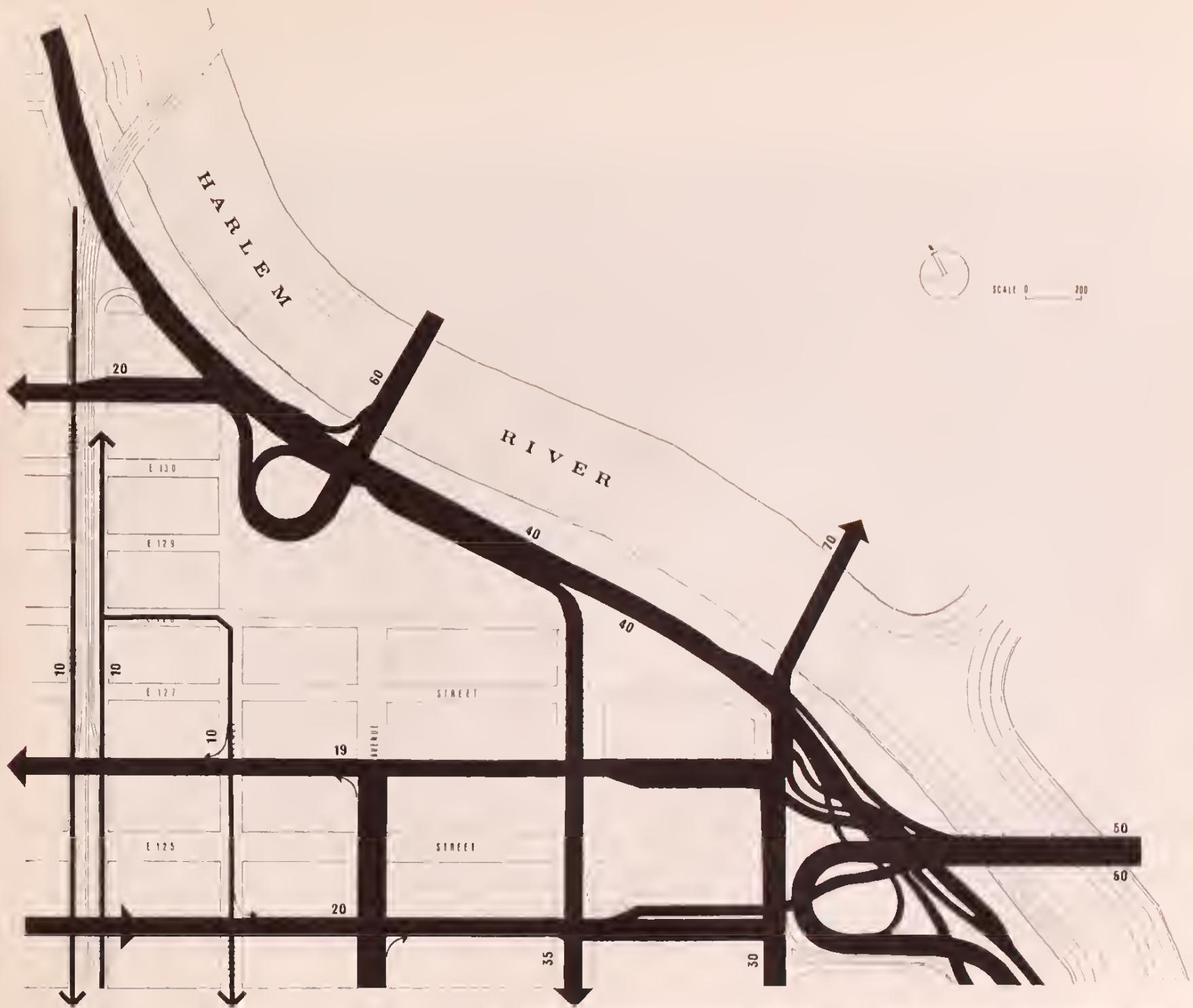
REGIONAL BUS SERVICE
INTRA NEIGHBORHOOD BUS SERVICE
INTER NEIGHBORHOOD BUS SERVICE

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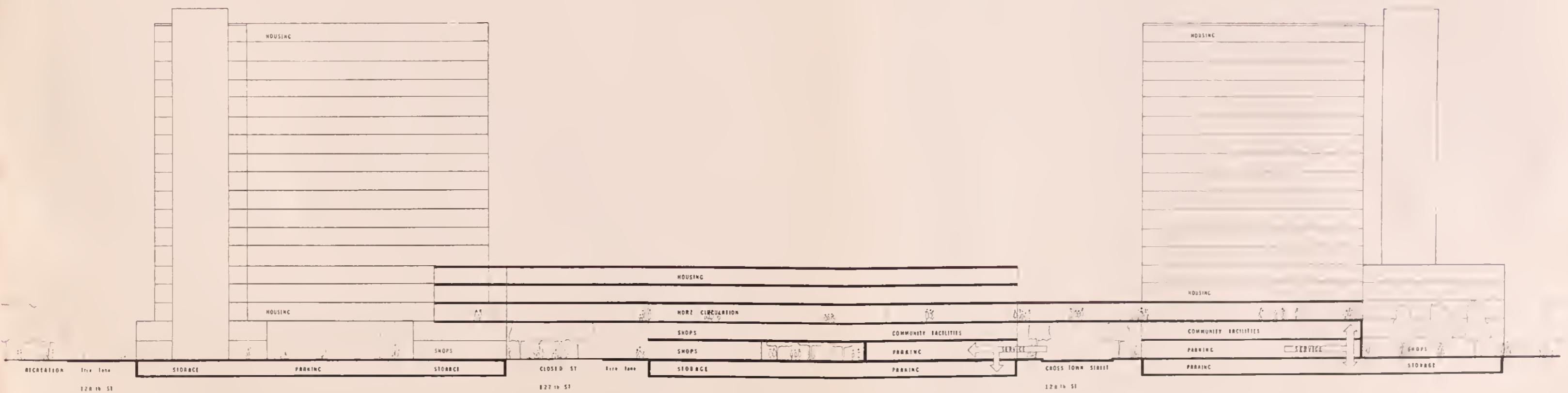
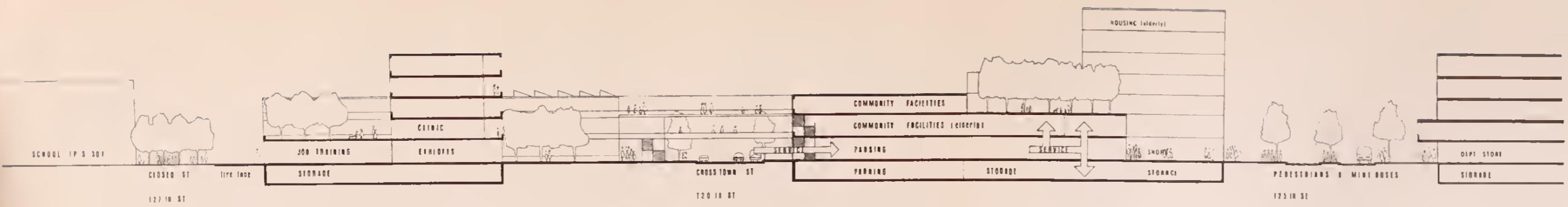
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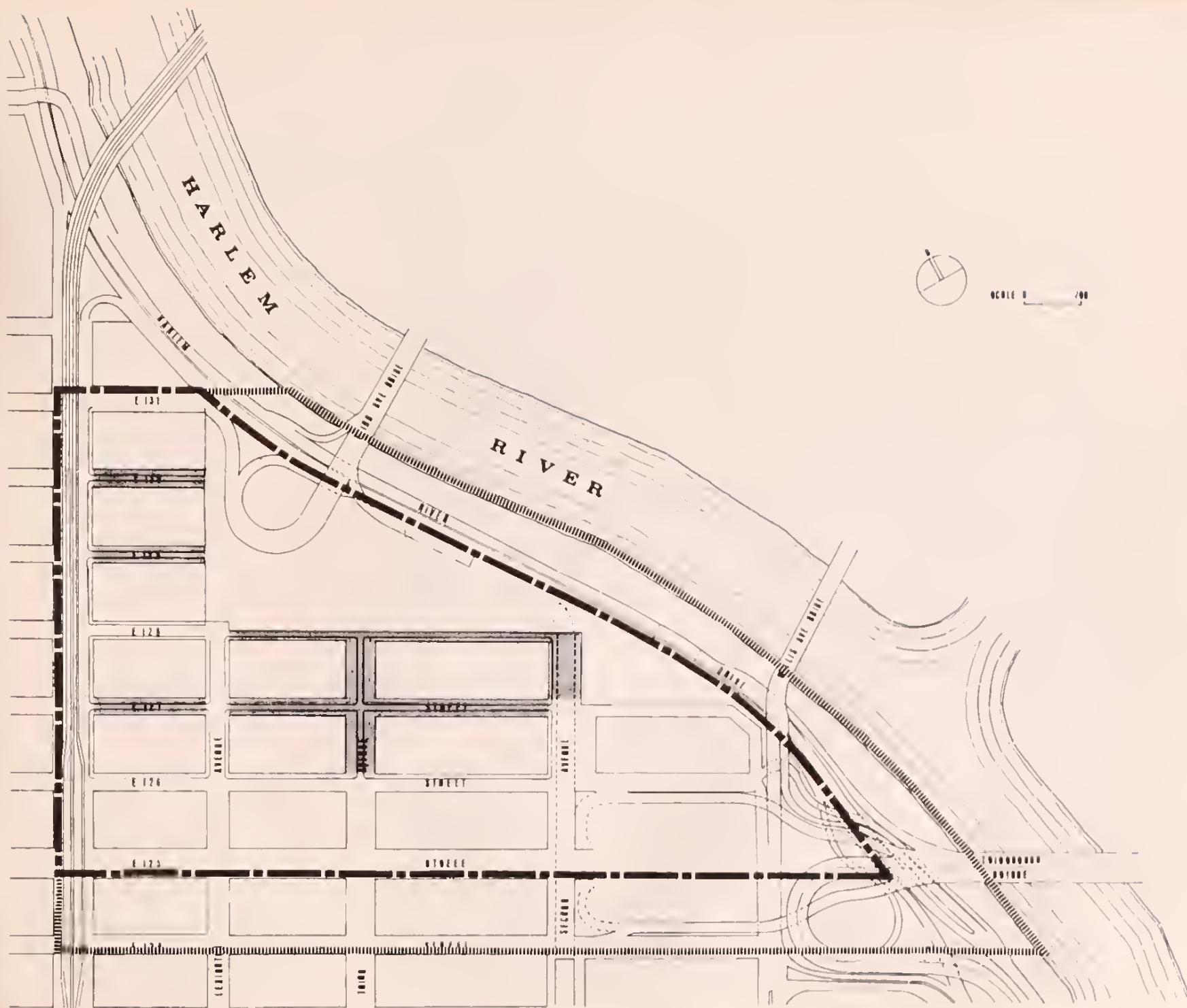
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RIGHTS-OF WAY
ADJUSTMENT PLAN

LIMITED ACCESS PUBLIC STREET

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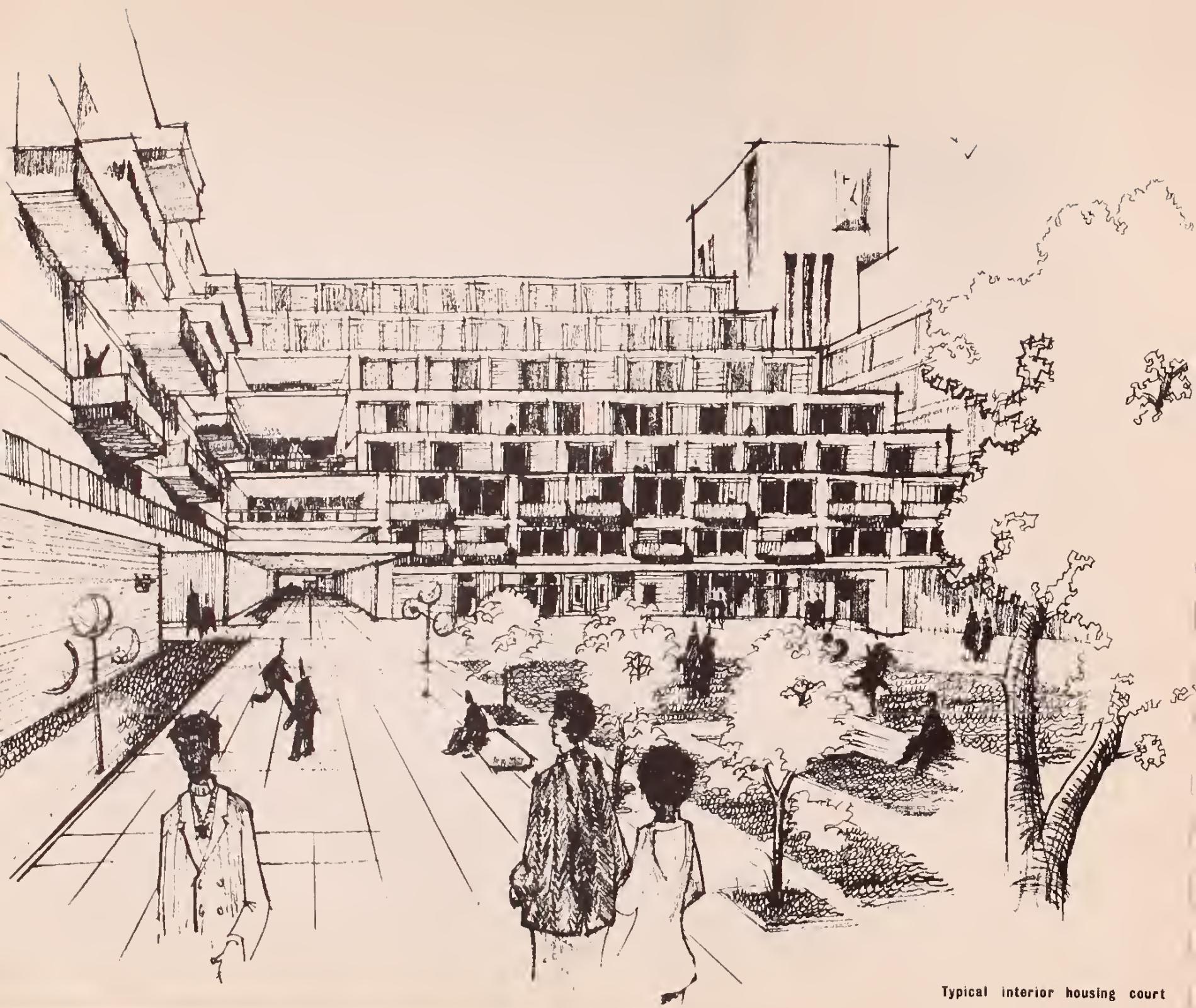
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C.

IMPLEMENTATION



Typical interior housing court

ACQUISITION

An important part of the plan implementation revolves around the extensive clearance which is to be undertaken in the Triangle. There are some 303 buildings which are marked for clearance. This is the only practical treatment since 263 Triangle buildings are classified as "with deficiencies", 149 are structurally substandard to a degree warranting clearance and 114 warrant clearance to remove blighting influences. The success of this operation, in relation to the concept plan objectives, depends upon the relocation plan and the types of job structure which can be created out of this action.

The delineation of clearance areas was influenced by planning determinations in accord with the Triangle philosophy. Such considerations included the necessity to provide reuse parcels of a size, shape and depth which would permit economically feasible redevelopment. The need for community facilities, traffic reorganization, and decent housing were also taken into consideration.

RELOCATION

There are currently some 1,685 housing units within the Triangle boundaries. Occupied housing units total 1,109. Some 984 of these housing units are in properties to be acquired and 125 are in structures to be rehabilitated. The Triangle believes that no resident should be forced out of the community because of relocation procedures. Also, they believe that former Triangle residents should be given priority in the new housing units. Existing vacant and non-residential land to be acquired should be built upon first to implement a staged relocation plan.

In order to insure that these community objectives are complied with, the Triangle intends to acquire a contract from the Department of Relocation to handle all relocation and tenant selection matters that arise during the course of renewal.

The Triangle objective is to achieve 2,400 new housing units; 1,800 units of low income housing and 600 units of moderate income housing. Low income housing will be in vest pocket public housing, leased public housing and rent subsidy programs. The number of low units planned will exceed the number required to rehouse the present on-site families.

Staged relocation will permit any family facing removal to be moved directly into new housing. It will also give residents who were forced to leave the area an opportunity to return.

Relocation will proceed in 17 steps after the initial resource of 181 dwellings are rehabilitated and readied for occupancy. The Steps are outlined as follows:

Step (1) Rehab. No.1 – 181 d.u.

Step (2) Move existing 28F. from No.2A and B and 59 F from No.7 to No.1. This leaves a surplus of 94 new d.u., on site No.1.

Step (3) Construct new housing on No.2A (165 d.u.) and 28 (130 d.u.) and community facilities block (No.7). Making available 295 new dwelling units.

Step (4) Move existing 104F from No.38 and 246F from 3A to remaining 94 new d.u. on site No.1 and new d.u.'s on site 2A and B. This leaves a surplus of 39 new d.u. on site No.2B.

Step (5) Const. new housing on site No.3A (217 d.u.) (114 new and 103 rehab.), and No.3B (340 d.u.)

Step (6) Move existing 135F on site No.4A and 136F on site 48 to the 39 d.u. remaining on site No.2B and the new d.u. on site No.3A and No.3B. This leaves a surplus of 325 new dwelling units on site 38 * (these are primarily moderate income housing units.

Step (7) Const. BB dwelling units on site No.4A (67 new and 21 rehab) and 161 dwelling units on site No.4B.



PROJECT BOUNDARIES AND PROPOSED EXTENSION

Q - LAND NOT TO BE ACQUIRED
Q* - LAND TO BE ACQUIRED
CONDITIONALLY

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Step (8) Move existing 43F in No.5 to new housing on site No.4A (B8 d.u.). This leaves a surplus of 45 new D.U.'s on site No.4A.

Step (9) Site No.6 has no relocation and can be refurbished for commercial use.

Step (10) Site No.7 (see step 3).

Step (11) Move existing 23F on site No.8 to remaining 45 d.u. on site No.4A. This leaves a surplus of 22 new d.u. on site No.4A.

Step (12) Site No.B becomes available for 147 new dwelling units * (suggested for elderly) and commercial development below.

Step (13) Move existing 8F on site No.9 to remaining 22 d.u. on site 4A. This leaves a surplus of 14 new d.u. on 4A.

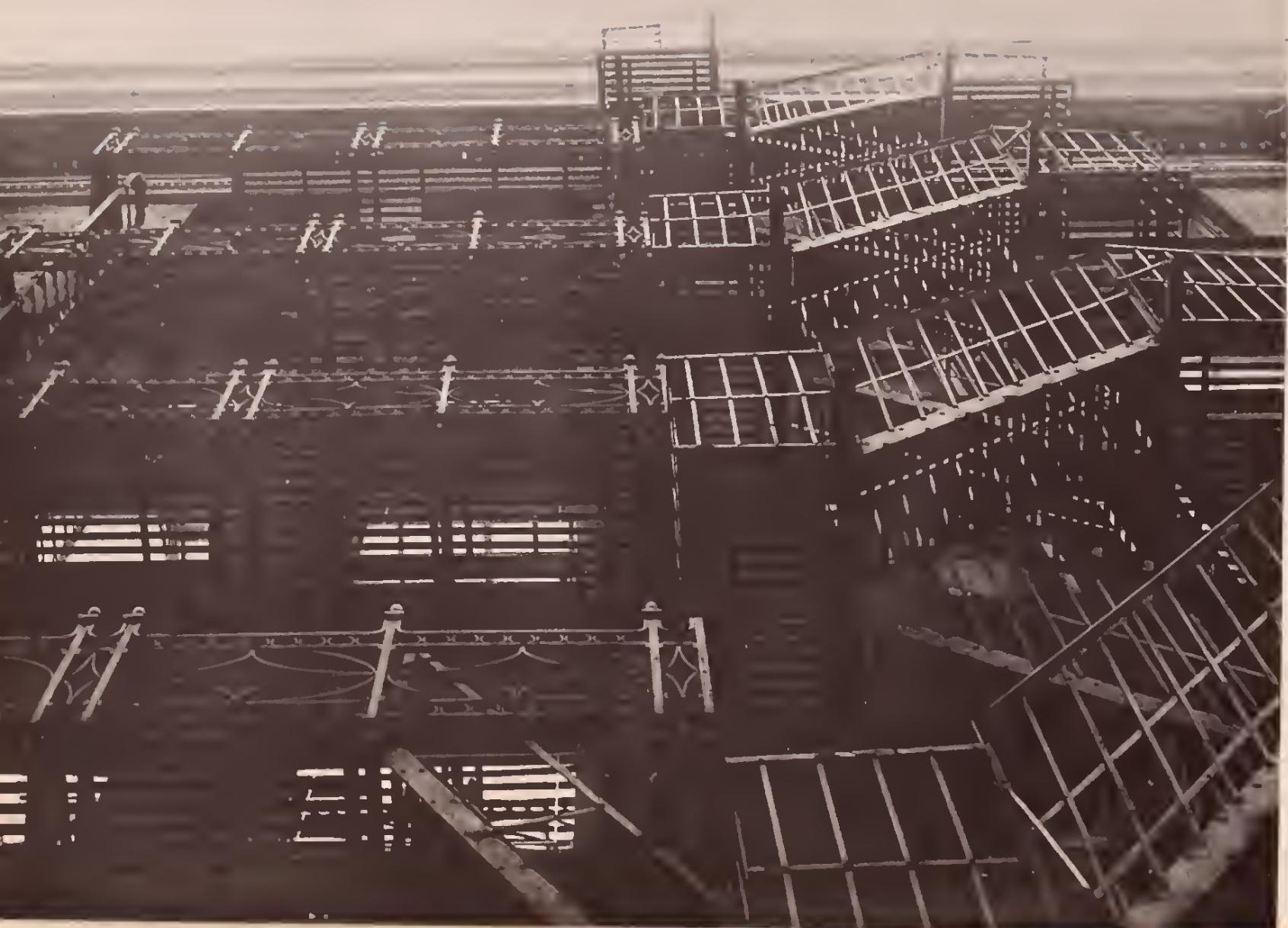
Step (14) Move existing BOF on site No.10 to remaining 14 d.u. on 4A and 88 d.u. on 4B. This leaves a surplus of 22 new d.u. on site No.4B.

Step (15) Site No.10 becomes available for 370 new d.u. above commercial.

Step (16) Move 73F from site No.11 to remaining 22 d.u. on site 4B and remaining 325 d.u. on site 3B.
This leaves a surplus of 274 d.u. on site No.3B*
* suggested for median income.

Step (17) Site No.11 becomes available for 370 new d.u. above commercial.

* This leaves No.5 open for commercial and industrial construction.



D. **CONCLUSION**

FOR A VERY LONG TIME AMERICA HAS ROMANTICIZED OVER THE QUIET AND GRACEFUL PATIENCE EXERCISED BY BLACK PEOPLE IN THE FACE OF AN AMERICAN RACISM WHICH SYSTEMATICALLY DENIED THEM THEIR MANHOOD. NOW IS THE TIME TO TRANSFORM PATIENCE INTO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTION PROGRAMS. IN THE PRESENT ERA THERE IS NO TIME FOR ANYTHING BUT ACTION AND THE TRIANGLE WON'T HAVE IT ANY OTHER WAY.



